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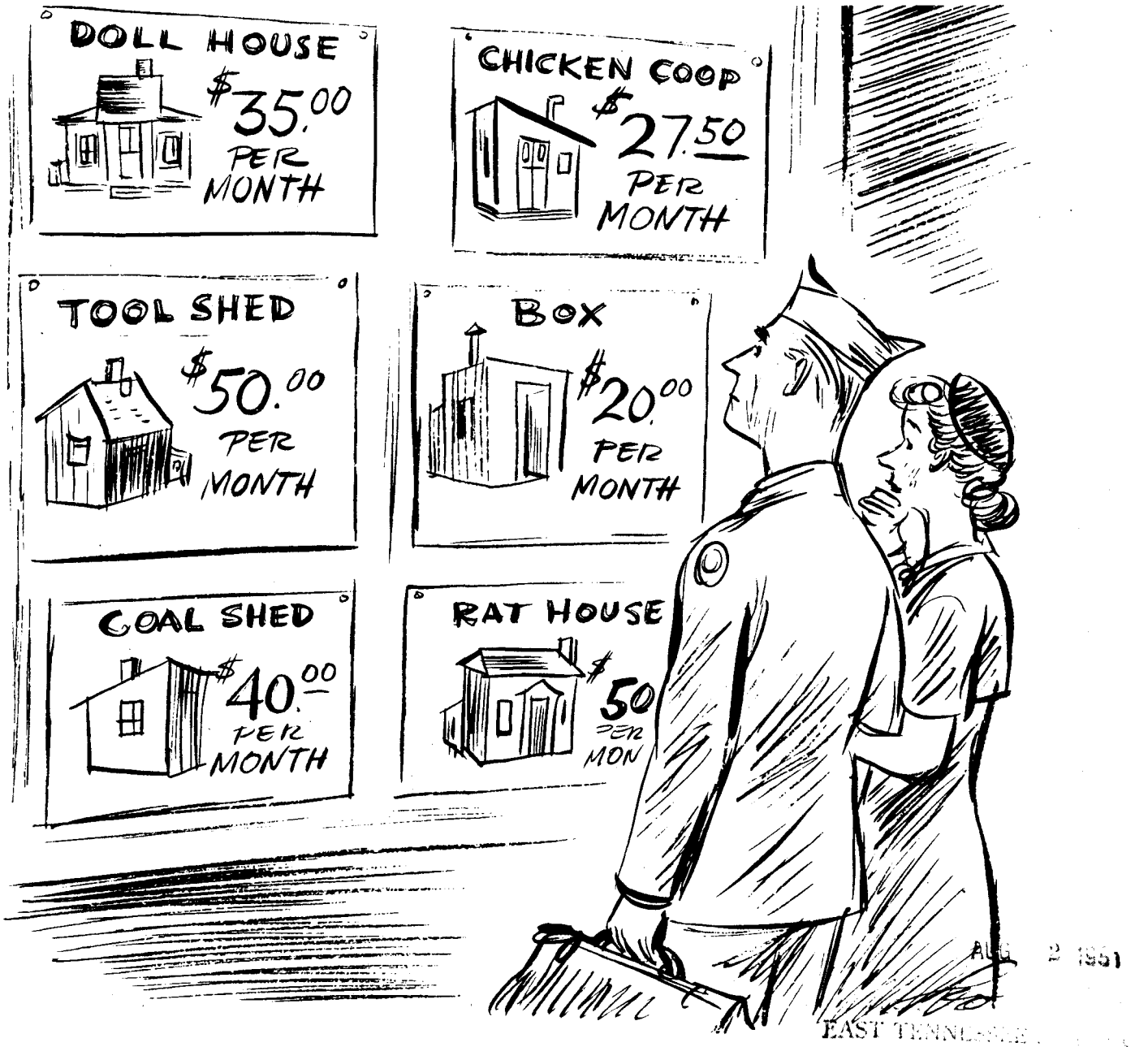

AUG 2 1951
EAST TENNESSEE
Johnson City, Tennessee

SLUMS FOR SERVICEMEN — PAGE 13

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Letters

Meat and Human Nature

● "Behind the Meat Strike" by A. J. Heidenheimer (*NR*, June 25) was a well-prepared article containing many truths, some half truths, and a few things that were not true at all, due to lack of understanding I am sure, rather than intent on Mr. Heidenheimer's part.

I must confess that I am always a little prejudiced against any article which attempts to hold up any group of American people as a horrid example of greed and selfishness because we all know that we simply don't find any large segments of Americans who are more greedy or selfish than any other segments.

Individually, we are a generous, broad-minded, tolerant, fair and free people. But when we separate ourselves into groups for the purpose of obtaining certain social, economic or belligerent objectives, the groups seem to lose some of those fine qualities which the individuals who compose them possess in such generous measure. Some of the kindest men I have ever known, gentle, generous and open-hearted to a fault with other human individuals, have been men of large business affairs with absolutely no tolerance of mass social reform. Some of the most arrogant, inconsiderate and selfish individuals, so far as relationships with their fellow human beings are concerned, have been men who devote their lives unselfishly to mass reforms and social advancement for the people. . . .

The men and women who raise the nation's meat and food are, at least from my own perhaps prejudiced viewpoint, the most openhanded, hospitable and unselfish of them all as individuals and have honestly earned that reputation throughout the history of this country. Yet, I must acknowledge that acting as organized groups they sometimes, to put it mildly, give a quite contrary impression of their individual natures. . . .

It is inconceivable that any group of men in Washington, regardless of how conscientious and able they may be, can possibly have the knowledge of local conditions necessary to determine intelligently how many cattle each of the hundreds of packers scattered through this nation should be permitted to slaughter each month. If the intelligence and integrity of our people have deteriorated to a point where every detail of such a complicated business as processing meat must be decided by an agency in Washington, then we are in a bad way. The cattlemen are criticized and perhaps justly so for the presentation they made of their case in Washington before the press and members of Congress last May. It is true cattlemen are not suave or smooth in such matters. Those are things you don't learn in the feed lot or on the range. But, despite the crudity of their presentation, I venture to suggest there may have been more honesty and truth, and perhaps less downright greed, than in some presentations that are so skillfully presented by the experienced smoothies with reams of confusing statistics.

PAT FLANNERY
Executive Assistant to Sen.
Joseph O'Mahoney
Washington, D. C.

The Way We Live Now

● Somehow, through all this complaint about how we, the average American family, are suffering as a result of the present high prices, I keep feeling that we are also suffering an optical illusion.

Mrs. Eckels (*NR*, July 16) and Mrs. Reynolds (*NR*, June 18) in their letters to you—and all the other women I hear everywhere I go—keep going on about things in life that "our society idealisti- ambitions for their children's future—about college educations and the "nicer" cally teaches are every citizen's right" and that our political propagandists sanctimoniously refer to as the "American standard of living." Continually subjected to movies, television plays and women's magazine stories that portray a two-story home in the suburbs with a maid and a 1951 car as the "average American home," they feel terribly frustrated with their own "struggle for the simple necessities."

Hasn't the great majority of the American public—the portion of our population that works for a living—always struggled for the simple necessities? Fifteen years ago there were "millions of families trying to live on incomes so meagre that the pall of disaster hangs over them day by day; millions denied education, recreation and the opportunity to better their lot and that of their children; one-third of a nation ill-housed, ill-clad, ill-nourished." Fifteen years ago is the time regarded as normal when they get out the statistics about prices today. The depression was over and the inflation hadn't really got going. But one-third of a nation was ill-housed, ill-clad, ill-nourished and another one-third struggled to maintain decent housing, clothing and food for their families, with no particular hope of ever sending their children through college or providing them with a two-story home in the suburbs.

Certainly there are great dangers to the nation's whole economy in our presently uncontrolled inflation and there are real hardships directly traceable to the inflation being worked on people living on pensions or strictly fixed incomes. But the majority of families at the age where they have children with futures to worry about are not on fixed incomes, certainly not on pensions. Prices may have trebled but I'll bet the man in the family is making close to three times what similar work paid 15 years ago. . . .

Most of the women I know were born and raised in middle-class homes. The standard of living they are trying vainly to achieve is what used to be the middle-class standard. But as everyone knows, the middle class is not what it used to be. Most of these women grew up and married men who are working for large companies. They are, of course, just as bright and capable as "Father" but in a large company they are necessarily a cog in a machine—a member of the working class even though they are wearing a white collar. There is a large section of our population—out of which I am inclined to think come your readers—in exactly this predicament. And until they "come off it" and wake up to the realization that they are only struggling with what the "working classes" have always struggled with; that whether they like it or not they are now a part of that class and that their interests are identical; that the only solution to their frustration lies in union with the other average Americans for a common effort to get *everybody* a decent "American way of life," they will continue to be bewildered and frustrated. . . .

Palatine, Ill. (Mrs.) EDWARD BAUMAN

Prisoners of Conscience

● It is generally thought that the United States is liberal in her treatment of minorities, especially conscientious objectors. However, of 12 countries listed by the UN Commission on Human Rights as granting legal recognition of conscience the United States is the only one limiting C. O. provisions by defining religion as a relationship to a Supreme Being. Other countries grant complete exemption to absolutist objectors, but the US jails them.

In addition to the narrow provisions for conscience in the draft law, many sincere religious objectors are denied C. O. status by arbitrary draft boards. The result has been 12 consecutive years with men in prison for their religious or political beliefs. With selective service extended for four years and UMT likely,

(*Continued on page 4*)

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New Republic

CONTENTS FOR AUGUST 6, 1951

5 Government by Pressure? An Editorial
7 The Week:
7 Money Bills
7 A General's Testimony
7 Those AP Socialists
8 The Jordan Succession
8 After Lucas
8 Labor War in N. C.
9 Outside America
10 International Socialism Reborn, by Denis Healey
11 Cicero's Covenants, by Byron S. Miller
13 Slums for Servicemen, by Jean Begeman
16 Harold L. Ickes
17 Books:
17 "Whitehead and the Modern World," reviewed by Y. H. Krikorian
19 "The Chinese in Southeast Asia," reviewed by Bruno Lasker
20 French Classics, by Maxwell Geisman
21 "McDonough," reviewed by Ben Raeburn
21 Theatre
22 On the Air

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WASHINGTON WIRE

CAN RUSSIAN aggression be curbed without major war? That is the mid-century's supreme question. It goes to the heart of all Washington issues. America will fight to block aggression; but can we block it without fighting? The wisest and ablest men whom we know in Washington think that we can if we follow the "middle way" outlined by Truman at Detroit. It requires resoluteness, sacrifice, planning, above all international co-operation.

But the enemies of the "middle way" are not merely the Russians. They are here at home, the demagogues, the partisians, the fanatics, the primitives. They are the isolationists and all those who oppose coolness, self-discipline and steadfastness. They are those who would grab the wheel and skid us into war's end. This is not child's play anymore; over the edge lies atomic war. The scared world watches the Washington drama—a drama with no repeat performance.

General MacArthur at Boston said that the government had "no foreign policy." This is almost identical with the Taft line. Both men regard the UN war in Korea as "useless." MacArthur's oratorical style is a thing of wonder; it is rich and thick and overwhelming like a double ice cream sundae laced with molasses. One spoonful gives some unfortunates intellectual diabetes. And always Mac and Taft oppose the "middle way" or deny it exists. They have a better proposal: spend less money and take greater military risks. Who cares about a third world war? They make a powerful team for 1952.

Truman told the story of the reporter from the Madison, Wis., *Capital Times* who spent July 4 trying to get signatures to a "petition" containing quotations from the Declaration of Independence and the Bill of Rights. Out of 112 persons, 111 refused. Americans were afraid to sign.

Truman at Detroit also mentioned the St. Lawrence Seaway. "There never was a project in the history of the country more badly needed," he said. The program was tabled (killed) in the House Public Works Committee last week. Democrats voted 10 to 5 for the Seaway; Republicans voted against it 10 to 2. The vote symbolizes the difference between the parties and also the coalition, 15 to 12, that is killing most progressive legislation.

Next liberal item on the GOP-Dixiecrat agenda for defeat is a little decision by the Supreme Court. The Court holds that oil and mineral wealth off the shores of the continental US belongs to all the people; the conservative coalition in the House expects to reverse this and turn so-called "tideland" back to adjacent states for quick, private exploitation. The Senate may block the move. Truman would almost certainly veto such a measure.

Time magazine, July 30, says:

> This week a small, adroit group of Republicans is quietly planning the intricate maneuvers designed to win the nomination for Ike. . . . The number-one Republican power is Ohio's Sen. Robert Taft. . . . The prime mover in the Eisenhower forces [is] hearty Harry Darby . . . Scott . . . Dewey . . . Duff . . . Stassen. . . . In late June, a vital message came to the Eisenhower planners from France . . . Darby left Senators with one last warning, don't rush things. . . .

T.R.B., July 9, said:

> A green light for Eisenhower has unmistakably flashed. A "stop-Taft" organization is being formed and word comes from Paris of Ike's intentions, firm enough to cause Dewey . . . Duff . . . Darby . . . to start formal movement.

July 23:

> In Washington the second strategy session has just been held. . . . Darby's chief problem is to keep the dark horse dark. He is trying to shush enthusiasts. . . .

Congress can quit Washington's jungle heat when it does four things:

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(1) Completes action on controls. This is almost ready; due to public apathy it is a bad law. (2) Passes the tax bill. Truman asked a minimum of $10 billion of additional taxes to meet inflation; he may get as much as $7 billion. (3) Acts on the $8.5 billion foreign-aid bill. This looks like a re-playing of the familiar foreign-aid debate with Taft and Wherry cutting the total. (4) Enacts 11 regular appropriation bills.

Pat McCarran was starting the open hearings of the Senate's Subcommittee on Internal Security. He called visiting Senator McCarthy up to the table. He began to read the mimeographed, mouth-filling statement which somebody had prepared. He read in a high, portentous voice. They were ornate lapidarian phrases like "successful conspirators are often consummate dissemblers." There was a long pause before "consummate." Reporters waited. McCarran tried it with his tongue, ventured out on it like an elephant on a bridge, feeling it syllable by syllable. "Dissemblers" was a hard one, too, but McCarran made it. Everyone sighed with relief. The latest hunt for subversives was on.

Notes: Rep. John T. Wood (R, Idaho) would meet the problem of the Voice of America by having the DAR censor all scripts. . . . Administration failure to meet promptly the RFC charges concerning Democratic National Committee Chairman Boyle will be as great a mistake as the delay over charges against White House Secretary Donald Dawson. . . . Ex-Representative, ex-convict J. Parnell Thomas is becoming a N. J. newspaper publisher; his editorials should be worth reading. . . . On the same New York *Times* editorial page in which columnist Krock called the MacArthur Boston speech "a high point of vigor and precision" the paper editorially pointed out the General's self-contradictions on UN cease-fire talks and observed that the same thing cannot be "both a mistake and not a mistake." . . . Cornell University Professor Barrett's "The Tenney Committee" is a calmly horrifying study of anti-Communism run wild in California—and ultimately curbed.

Washington T.R.B.

CORRESPONDENCE

(Continued from page 2)

our prisons will have a permanent portion of inmates as political prisoners, unless present policies change. These men are prisoners of conscience for believing that no government should be overthrown by force or violence.

Prison for objectors is a flagrant violation of our highly advertised religious and political freedoms. Yet the public generally is apathetic about this loss on the home front. The *New Republic* editors and readers should do a real service for democracy by seeking more tolerance for the small minority of men in this country who are unable to participate in our military program.

Philadelphia, Pa. LYLE TATUM

Reckless Promises

● Appended to your sympathetic consideration of the "non-sked" air carriers and the need for low-cost air transportation, there should be a strong word of caution to prospective passengers about the sharp practices of many of the travel agents who specialize in the non-sked field.

To consummate a sale, these agents lie and misrepresent with reckless abandon, to the subsequent, and at times, considerable, inconvenience of their patrons.

Departure times may be postponed with trying regularity, flights both actual and hypothetical may be cancelled, tickets may be sold for non-existent space as well as non-existent planes, flight schedules may vary with the soaring fancies of travel agents, and refunds may be slow in forthcoming, or not at all.

Anticipated savings may well prove illusory in terms of added expense because of delay, reservations not kept, exasperation and worry. Anyone with a claim against these travel agents may be up the creek, for they have no assets.

I have polled 10 friends who have used the non-skeds to Florida and California. Not one would use them again.

New York City ARTHUR TEITELBAUM

Uncle Sam *Is* Known

● In my five years in England, I found considerable more knowledge and appreciation of the US than Mr. Curtis suggests in his article entitled "The Atlantic Curtain" (*NR*, July 9). Walter Reuther, for instance, is quite widely known—many people have the impression he is the power behind President Truman!

This high assessment of the political power of American labor has been voiced at the Cabinet level as well. The late Ernest Bevin told the 1950 conference of the Labour Party that, should any US government embark upon a preventive war, the AFL and the CIO would oust it.

My own impression was that the Communists had little to do with the ebb and flow of America's popularity. One word from General MacArthur has in the past hurt us more than reams of Cominform propaganda. The Marshall Plan, on the other hand, did us a great deal of good. I recall attending the annual Trades Union Congress conference and hearing a Communist delegate move a resolution against the Marshall Plan. He did not even receive a second, and although the Communist Party had many loyal henchmen in the auditorium, its leaders were entirely too sensible to invite a crushing defeat by pressing the resolution to a vote.

There are, of course, misunderstandings; and travel certainly helps understanding. But it must be along the proper paths—a British worker, for example, wandering into Congress while the Defense Production Act is being butchered might not get the right idea about "evolutionary capitalism!"

Washington, D. C. DAVID C. WILLIAMS

Nationalization of Oil

● We up here in Alberta are greatly interested in the chortling in the States over Iranian nationalization of oil. You see, we have a simple-minded premier who gave away our oil (chiefly to American interests) for something like 13 percent instead of the 25 percent the downtrodden, ignorant Iranians were getting. We are glad to know that if a later, more sensible government decides to "nationalize" and take 100 percent instead of letting these millions (or is it billions?) roll south of the border, American opinions will be solidly behind us.

LYNWOOD A. WALKER

Swalwell, Alberta, Canada

Slander

● Please call the attention of your readers to the vigorous slander currently being conducted by the American Legion, the National Association of Manufacturers, *et al.*, against a pocket-sized volume listing good books. Entitled *Good Reading*, the work is edited by Atwood H. Townsend, chairman of the Committee on College Reading of the National Council of Teachers of English. Among its sponsors are Norman Corwin, John Dos Passos, John Erskine, Clifton Fadiman, Dorothy Canfield Fisher, John Hersey, Aldous Huxley, Sinclair Lewis, Lin Yu-tang, Thomas Mann, Carl Sandburg and Cornelia Otis Skinner. The book is being attacked as "Communistic" and "un-American" because it recommends a few liberal books on economics, politics, sociology, etc. . . .

Austin, Texas GEORGE F. JONES

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New Republic

GOVERNMENT BY PRESSURE?

HAS GOVERNMENT by pressure replaced government by law in the US? The triumph of organized producers over unorganized consumers in emasculating the inflation-controls laws has led some able political scientists on the scene in Washington to conclude that it has.

Pressure politics has played a part in every American legislative body since the Continental Congress. Periodically, as in the Black Lobby Investigation and in the Caraway Investigation of the 1920s, the Senate has risen up against its tormentors and tried to search out the sources of their power. But we still have no general lobbying law, and the agents of special interest blocs enjoy practically unrestricted access to the government.

Today, with our national parties weaker and more divided than at any time in recent years, the lobbies have moved in in full force. Under their urging, sectional and selfish concerns have won out over the public interest on almost every test in this session of Congress. Why?

"The national parties should be the force in this country which holds down the organized groups to their proper functions," Thomas Finletter contends in his provocative volume *Can Representative Government Work?* "They should be the link between the Executive and Congress which enables the government to work in the national interest and against the pressures of local interests, organized or not."

The party presently in power—with its organization in the hands of William Boyle, its executive leadership consigned to pygmies like Sawyer, Snyder and Tobin, and its legislative direction trusted to special pleaders like Ernest McFarland, Lyndon Johnson and Sam Rayburn—is scarcely equal to such responsibility. With the Democratic Party not knowing what it wants, the organized minorities, which do know what they want, have taken over what were exclusively party functions. Business, labor and agriculture are far more unified forces than the political parties. The deadlock in the 82nd Congress springs basically from this fact.

A former representative from New England, attempting to explain Congress, says, "The old-time lobbyist has gone but the new brand, though respectable, has perhaps a more damaging effect by working on the timidity of law-makers rather than on their cupidity." The national parties now give little help to their candidates at election time. But the pressure groups have mastered the machinery of politics. They make campaign contributions, propagandize for and against candidates, invade primaries and get out the vote. Frank Graham, Claude Pepper and a host of other unsuccessful candidates in the 1950 elections can testify as to the comparative effectiveness of the American Medical Association and Democratic National Committee, to cite but one example.

The inflationists who voted to gut the Defense Production Act counted on the short memory of individual voters who go to the polls only every two years, and chose to have the support and contributions rather than the powerful opposition of the agricultural and big-business lobbies in 1952. E. H. Carr has clearly stated the dilemma:

> If we wish to get a correct picture of the structure of the modern world, we must think not of a number of individuals . . . but of a number of large and powerful groups, sometimes competing, sometimes co-operating, in the pursuit of their group interests, and of a state constantly impelled to increase the strength and scope of its authority in order to maintain the necessary minimum of cohesion in the social fabric. . . . The issue is whether to allow social action to depend on the haphazard outcome of a struggle between interest groups or to control and co-ordinate the activities of these groups in the interest of the community.

Some students of government contend that there is no way out of this dilemma short of complete constitutional revision, and the proposals for changes in the structure of the government range from shifts in the separation of powers between Congress and the Chief Executive to the adoption of the British Cabinet system.

Those who believe that the constitutional revision is impractical have come forward with three general lines of suggestions for reform within the present framework of political parties. One group advocates that the government itself assume responsibility for representing unorganized groups of the population before Congress. The voices of consumers, heard so indistinctly on Capitol Hill today, will continue for an indefinite time unless some drastic step is taken, it is argued. Walton Hamilton, testifying before the Joint Committee on the Organization of Congress, has proposed the establishment of an Office of Public Counsel "to assert the public interest

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and to create counter-pressures to those of private groups" and thus re-establish a true balance of power.

Other political scientists have proposed that the House of Representatives be reorganized to represent occupational rather than geographic groups. A more widely discussed proposal is to turn the lobbies into official government advisers by creating a national economic council representing all functional groups.

The danger that such a business-labor-agricultural council would develop into a super lobby with coercive powers over Congress that would further separate the legislature from the people is obvious. It is hard to see any advantage to be derived from giving the pressure their importance. The most practical course to follow in bringing pressure under control is probably that outlined by Dr. George Galloway in *Congress at the Crossroads*:

> The task of Congress is frankly to recognize these groups as component elements of our complex society, to provide an opportunity for all important interests to be heard, and to publicize their legislative activities by requiring them to register. Moreover, in view of the undemocratic internal structure and methods of some of these groups, which tax, regulate, and punish their members in various ways, Congress should set up standards governing the organization, powers and procedures of these private associations in the public interest.

The Senate Committee on Expenditures is presently conducting hearings on the question of amending and strengthening the Reorganization Act of 1946 which includes the present inadequate system for registration of lobbyists. Such authorities in this field as Dr. Belle Zeller of Brooklyn College and Dr. Edgar Lane of Princeton have testified and recommended, among other things, that: *all* lobbyists, not merely those "principally" so employed as the present Lobby Registration Act provides, shall be required to register and report quarterly to the Secretary of the Senate or the Clerk of the House; organizations spending more than $1,000 a year directly or indirectly on lobbying be required to report all contributions of $100 or more, and the names and addresses of the contributors; lobbyists be required to report campaign contributions; lobbying organizations be prohibited from paying contingent fees to lobbyists, required to report their total bona-fide membership, and to state how their legislative policies were determined; ex-members of Congress, engaged in lobbying, would be denied the customary privilege of the floor; a Joint Committee on the Legislative Process be created to supervise administration of the lobby law and the Corrupt Practices Act; registrations and reports be published in simplified form in the *Congressional Record* frequently while sessions are in progress.

State lobbying laws and the federal Lobbying Registration Act have done little more than establish the principle that the public has a right to know who the paid lobbyists are and where they get their funds. Most of the improvements suggested above must be made in the law before anything approaching real control of lobbies can begin. As a short cut to action, the Congress could dust off the Black Anti-Lobby Bill (S.2512), passed by the Senate in 1935 but never made law, which would subject violators to heavy fines or imprisonment.

A system for fully publicizing lobby activities and justly punishing those who violate the laws regulating it is an immediate necessity. Present laws are inexcusably weak. But the essential problem is to create a party government strong enough to withstand the tremendous conflicting pulls of pressure groups. So long as members of Congress lack a party willing and able both to direct them in Washington and protect them in their home constituencies, the average Senator or Representative is likely to vote on the side of a pressure group which will do those things even against his party.

"Many a congressman is well aware of the likelihood that the seeds of inflation may lie in pork-barrel appropriations for local improvements, yet he works manfully to see that the local flood-control project is included," David Truman points out in his penetrating new study of *The Government Process*.

Truman continues:

> Many a legislator can see that a tariff increase for a local industry is a threat to the stability of the national and the international economies, yet he bends every effort toward getting a higher rate. Suppose he does not, in deference to the national party policy; he then runs the risk that rivals in or outside his district party will promise that they can and will get an appropriation for the flood wall or an increase in the tariff or enameled widgets. On the other hand, if he ignores the Presidential policy, he almost certainly runs no risk at all. He supplies no ammunition to his opponents; he loses no camagin contributions; he alienates no workers who will help to mobilize his vote. Unless he can be insured against such risks or unless refusal to follow the party can be made a greater hazard, his courage will be clear. The remarkable thing is not that so few legislators will risk their local position, but that so many will. The first step toward party discipline is likely to be one that makes party solidarity more profitable for the incumbent legislator than an appearance of independence.

Of course, this problem of Congressional allegiance would be largely solved if voters generally came to realize that their personal interests are bound up with the national interest. The most practical way to break deadlocks is to work toward achievement of party governments strong enough to enforce majority rule.

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THE WEEK

MONEY BILLS

Congress has yet to pass a single appropriation bill, although the government's fiscal year ended June 30. The government is temporarily operating under a 31-day extension bill which will have to be renewed by August 1.

The two principal difficulties are the familiar annual attempt of the House to effect economies by careless "meat ax" methods and to legislate against existing government programs indirectly by slashing their budgets.

The much-mooted GOP plan to "get" Secretary of State Acheson by denying him his salary fizzled badly. Rep. John Phillips (R, Calif.) offered an amendment to the State Department appropriation bill which provided that no funds could be used to pay the salary of any department head who within five years before his appointment had been a member of a law firm representing a foreign government. Acheson's firm has represented Greece and Poland.

Democrats denounced this scheme as an unconstitutional "bill of attainder," certain to be rejected by the courts. Rep. John Rooney (D, N.Y.) called it a "slippery, snide, sharp" practice. Seventy-nine Republicans and two Democrats, Cox of Georgia and Williams of Mississippi, voted in favor and 171 members, including some 25 Republicans, voted against the Phillips maneuver.

The House also voted 245 to 141 against a proposed $15 million cut in Voice of America funds. The Appropriations Committee had already cut the figure to $85 million, $30 million less than the President requested.

By a margin of 188 to 186, the House voted to send back to the conference committee the Independent Offices appropriation bill with instructions to insist on Senate acceptance of a cut in public-housing units from 50,000 and of the Jensen job-cutting amendment. The Jensen plan, already twice rejected by the Senate, calls for filling only 25 percent of all vacancies that occur in the Federal Government. Since the two-vote margin represented a sharp falling off in support for these two crippling amendments, the Administration leadership does not plan to bring the bills up for a vote immediately in the hope that time will work to its advantage.

A GENERAL'S TESTIMONY

"I did nothing that anyone else wouldn't have done—only someone caught me at it," the General told reporters.

The General was Brig. Gen. David J. Crawford, commander of the Army's tank-automotive center at Detroit. He made the statement after being formally relieved of his command and reprimanded for accepting favors from government contractors and for building a sailboat for himself out of Army materials.

In relieving the General, Secretary of the Army Frank Pace Jr. said that Crawford had violated Army regulations and failed to "meet the high standards required of an Army Officer." Secretary Pace's action was based on a report of the Army's Inspector General which largely confirmed the testimony of General Crawford on July 23 in Detroit before a House subcommittee that he had let Col. Ray Middleton, a "Washington representative" for two companies which had $33 million in tank orders, pick up the tab for the General's stay at a swank Washington hotel, June 24-25. "It would be unreasonable to denounce the hospitality," Crawford insisted.

Middleton is an officer of the Continental Foundry and Engineering Company of East Chicago, Ind., and the Pacific Car and Foundry Company of Seattle. The former received contracts for $26 million worth of tank turrets, and the latter has $7 million in government contracts. "They were the best equipped to do the job," Crawford said explaining why they were given the orders.

General Crawford also admitted that he was working on a 24-foot sailboat built from "scraps" lying around the arsenal and had completed an 18-foot craft for sailing at a lake resort near Fort Wayne, Mich.

The Army has never quite forgotten the perjury conviction of former Maj. Gen. Bennett E. Meyers over war contracts. Unquestionably, Crawford has been disciplined as a stern example to other procurement officers engaged in spending billions for defense contracts.

Prompt to come to Crawford's defense was Rep. Clare Hoffman (R, Mich.) who has had many heydays castigating the Administration for "corruption." "I'm sure he never took a nickel for letting government contracts," he said. "General Crawford was just doing what most of them do, and he got caught."

THOSE AP SOCIALISTS

It is doubtful whether the average American newspaper reader has recognized the news stories in his local paper as particularly slanted in favor of the Truman Administration. It took acute Rep. Paul Shafer (R, Mich.) to bring this to the attention of the House in a recent speech in which he showed conclusively that the Associated Press, which supplies American newspapers with a large part of their news, "lends itself to the propaganda line of the Administration."

To prove his charge, Shafer analyzed the coverage given some remarks made by his colleague Rep. J. P. Wolcott who told the world that the Truman Administration "had endangered the entire controls program by attempting to use the current emergency to grab new powers that would be palatable only to a British Socialist." Why did this statement fail to make front-page headlines in newspapers around the country?

"As a former newspaper publisher, editor and one who has handled thousands of news releases, I considered Mr. Wolcott's statement extremely newsworthy," declared Shafer. He pointed

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out that the voluminous New York *Times* had considered it news fit to print. But what had the AP done? It had given Wolcott only three paragraphs of a 15-paragraph roundup story on the price-controls bill.

The AP story, Shafer complained, had asserted that Congress "chopped hunks out of the requested powers." This he said was propaganda. Had Wolcott not made it clear that the Republicans were fighting against Socialism?

THE JORDAN SUCCESSION

Few Americans are likely to have shed tears at the recent, violent demise of Abdullah, the king of Jordan. A powerful Arab oligarch ruling a backward country, he was no more attached to Western humanitarian and ethical ideals than are the rest of the region's lusty rulers. He used the gold the British paid him for the same fantastic luxuries that fill the other Arab courts. But some of it he paid to keep up the Arab world's best-trained military body, the Arab Legion, which he used sparingly against Israel, keeping it in reserve for future bouts with his enemies in the Arab League. He played his cards right by sticking with Britain during World War II and by favoring a rapprochement with Israel.

Abdullah's assassination is the most noteworthy in a series of recent fanatical attacks which have carried away many leading Arab moderates, especially in Iran and Syria. Whether complicated by oil or dynastical feuds, this crude form of nationalism threatens to wreck the Near Eastern equilibrium. Jordan and Iraq had been the two countries where the British were able to maintain stability. These countries have been a bulwark against the efforts of nationalist Egyptian leaders, who have been working themselves up into a state of anti-British hysteria. The most serious result of Abdullah's death may be to cripple attempts to build up a new power grouping around Turkey, Israel and Jordan.

Abdullah had favored such a policy, as the Jerusalem *Post* notes, "not because the emergence of Israel irked him any less than other Arab rulers, but because he saw in it the best prospects for the peaceful development of his country." With his death the Arab Legion's loyalty may be torn between its British officers and Abdullah's two sons. The elder of these, Amir Telal, has been under treatment in a Swiss asylum for some time. He is favored by Egypt and the Arab League extremists. The other son, Naif, has been placed in the regency and may succeed to the kingship if the British decide that he is reliable enough to warrant the effort to put him there.

Dynasties, in the Arab world, are more a product of circumstances than of blue blood. The present Iranian royal family is descended from a former Army sergeant. The royal house of Iraq was put in place by the British after the French had kicked it out of Syria. Recent generations of these families have proved less virile than their strong-man antecedents. With French power gone, and British power fading, the emergence of fairly responsible monarchs or "strong men" is a requisite for this area.

AFTER LUCAS

The defeat of the Lucas Amendment to the Defense Production Act may well go down as one of labor's few victories in the 82nd Congress, but most observers are cautiously awaiting Wage Stabilization Board action to determine how much of a victory it actually is.

The Board, which has dragged its feet all during the defense-production fight, must soon take action on Regulation Six, the 10-percent wage-increase formula. The public members of the Board are reported to have drawn up a resolution favoring increases in wages to correspond to the rise in the cost of living. Industry members have dissented from this, but the public members reputedly feel strongly enough about the justice of such a policy to carry the fight to Economic Stabilizer Eric Johnston for decision.

Union members are inclined to feel that this resolution is fair although some of their full-wage demands would not be covered by such an arrangement. The first disputes case, involving vacation, pension and union security issues between the American Smelting and Refining Company and the local of the CIO-United Steelworkers of America has been certified to the Board by the President so the result will soon be known.

LABOR WAR IN N. C.

Pistol fire has been rattling intermittently across the North Carolina countryside. Bloodhounds yap and state police cars are as thick as flies these hot July nights around Winston-Salem. Another group of workers are striking for union recognition.

For four months the Flakes and the Steeles, owners of the Pine Hall Brick and Pipe Company, have been using every dodge that the Taft-Hartley Act furnishes to avoid making a contract with their 200 employees who last March voted 134 to 60 for the CIO-United Stone and Allied Products Workers of America to represent them. The strike is now well into its second month. Patrolmen at two locations, both near picket posts, improve their pistol marksmanship with paper targets or old bottles or rusty tin cans as their objects. The yelping dogs add color and terror to the scene.

The courts have helped the employer's game. Charges were preferred against three strikers for "assault with a deadly weapon" by a company foreman who admitted he was not on the scene at the time. The deadly weapon of which he complained was a stick applied against the car of a striker. The court meted out small fines to the three strikers but the incident can cost these men their jobs if the employer finally negotiates a contract barring all law violators from employment, a widely used trick in most of Southern labor warfare today.

The Flakes and the Steeles are still trying to operate with the handful of strike-breakers still in the plant. But the strikers, half of them Negro and half white, are holding solid. The employers aren't weakening either. The hope is a decision, momentarily expected, by the United States Conciliation Service.

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Outside America

US AND EUROPE'S POLITICS

The European practice of using the word "Left" as the tag for the politics of change and progress, and the word "Right" for the support of sameness and privilege, derives from the physical placing of the delegates of the Three Estates when they met for the first time in the Salle des Menus Plaisirs at Versailles in 1789. The men of the first Two Estates—the nobles and the clergy—took the places of honor at the right of the king, while the Third-Estate delegates sat at his left.

Then, in the Manege—the riding school—of the Tuileries, the next meeting place of the French legislators, the shape of the building—long, narrow, with an aisle separating the delegates on two sides of the President and Speaker—confirmed the physical arrangement, the spokesmen for privilege and conservation on the right, the advocates of progress and change on the left.

The Salle des Machines, also in the Tuileries, was the first semi-circular chamber, and there, for the first time, the delegates chose places on the right or left, in relation to the degree they thought they represented the desire to hold on to the values of the past or to advance toward a different future. Moreover, since the seats step-laddered steeply from the floor to the ceiling, the extremists on both political sides took the topmost places—hence the tag, Montagnards.

The split between the political mountain and valley did not last. The one between right and left did. Although there is a strong current of opinion in Europe, especially among the ex-Communist-anti-Communists, to drop the tags—on the theory that they no longer correspond to political realities—the most important political figure in the country which gave the world the Left-Right dichotomy objects vehemently.

Gen. Charles de Gaulle refused to allow the delegates of his Rally of the French People, elected to the National Assembly in the recent balloting, to take seats on the right side of the semi-circular Palais Bourbon. His party, he said, was not of the Right—not of any place on the right. But the Assembly, by a vote of 474 to 127—which in effect means everybody else against the Gaullists—decided that the RPF men must sit on the extreme right.

One of de Gaulle's motives in trying to escape the rightist label is the same which made Adolf Hitler call himself a kind of Socialist. Another is his desire to curry favor with an American whom he—and most other leading politicians in Paris, London, Rome and Bonn—confidently expect to be the next President of the United States. Rightly or wrongly, de Gaulle and most of these other Europeans believe that General Eisenhower is definitely a political general, and that, though his ideas about a New Europe are intelligent, liberal and forward-looking, they are not pointed toward any kind of New Deal Europe. They consider the head of SHAPE a man of the Right in social and economic opinions, but—for domestic American political reasons—just as eager as de Gaulle to avoid the tag of rightism.

Many Europeans also believe that the jockeyings for position — Right to nominal Left—in recent "changings of the guard" in two other European countries have been strongly influenced by American factors. The new Spanish Cabinet, which is precisely as honest and democratic a move away from the Right as de Gaulle's would have been symbolically if he had succeeded, is almost universally regarded as a sop to Left opinion in the United States, and incidentally in France and Britain. Progressive American opinion may believe that the "realities" of European defense have been well served by the Sherman-Eisenhower-Franco "deal" on bases, without any excessive sacrifice to the survival of the totalitarian Right. European opinion, and not only progressive, has the same attitude toward Franco Spain's shift to the Left as the non-Gaullist members of the French National Assembly, including non-Gaullist rightists, had about the General's pretensions.

The recent Italian Cabinet crisis was less a matter of American Government and opinion successfully winning a Pyrrhic victory over Western Europeans. Yet American factors influenced it even more than they did the changing of the guard in Spain. For behind the resignation of Treasury Minister Guiseppe Pella, the fall of the sixth Alcide de Gasperi Government and the solution of the crisis, lay a duel between the two most important Americans in Italy—Ambassador James C. Dunn and ECA Head Leon Dayton.

The issue however was not simply personal, nor was it between Right and Left in the old-fashioned use of the words. It was between Dunn supporting the old hard-money, extreme deflationist, balance-the-budget economy of the Herbert Hoover type, which in Italy reinforces a feudal agriculture and a reactionary monopolistic industry; and Dayton speaking for a progressive capitalism which in Italy might stand some chance both of modernizing the national economy and of introducing the sort of real justice that could do what has not yet been done and needs to be done—weaken the hold of Communism.

It was widely said at the time of the Italian local elections that there was only one man in the country who could, if he wanted to, be elected in any place on any ticket, or on no ticket. The man was Dayton. Since he came to Italy as the successor of an ECA chief who saw eye to eye with Dunn, he has spoken up clearly, honestly and courageously about the real problems of the country. He was a thorn in the side of the great landowners and industrialists. The State Department silenced but did not remove him.

The solution of the Cabinet crisis was not a victory for Dayton, but the fact that the crisis took place—and on a socio-economic issue that is far more real and important than the debate on Left versus Right—was a gain for the right kind of serving for the goals of European security and defense.

Rome PERCY WINNER

EAST TENNESSEE ... COL.
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INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM REBORN

by Denis Healey

ON JUNE 30, 1951, the Socialist International was reborn in Frankfurt, Germany. The child received polite if skeptical blessings from most of the democratic world, and hysterical abuse from the Communist press. "This is a police International," howled the Cominform *Journal*, "created for the purpose of justifying and supporting the monstrous plans for world domination of the US imperialists."

The fury of the Cominform is not surprising. Six years ago the Communists hoped to find the Socialist Parties ready victims to the appeal for "working-class unity against capitalist oppression." Instead they have found the Socialists among their most effective adversaries at almost every point. Where the Socialist Parties were strong, as in Britain and Scandinavia, the Communists have found it impossible to gain a footing. Soviet expansion met some of its most spectacular defeats at the hands of Socialist administrations in Finland and in Berlin, for example. And even in Eastern Europe some of the most courageous opposition to the new regimes came from Socialists like Puzak and Zulawski in Poland or Loulchev in Bulgaria.

The war between Communism and democratic Socialism is as old, of course, as Communism itself. But it has never been quite so intense as through the last five years. As a result the Socialists have been compelled to re-examine the basic principles of their philosophy so as to clarify its moral incompatibility with Communism. In the course of this re-examination they have thrown out a great deal of the old-fashioned lumber they had inherited, which continued to shock their friends long after it had ceased to inspire themselves.

The Declaration of Aims and Tasks voted unanimously by the new International in Frankfurt is the first fruit of this re-examination. It defines Socialism at every point as the best contemporary expression of liberal democracy. It bases itself on eternal moral principles rather than on the increasingly irrelevant critique of a particular capitalist society which Marx elaborated a century ago. It thus denies Communism any claims to a share in the Socialist tradition, presenting it rightly as a revolt from Socialism into barbarism.

In this Declaration, the Socialist Parties digest the experience they have gained in government over the last 20 years. Nationalization is presented not as an end in itself, but as only one of the techniques which may be appropriate to ensure that the economy satisfies basic human needs. "The immediate aims of Socialist policy," it states, "are full employment, higher production, a rising standard of life, social security and a fair distribution of incomes and property."

This restatement of fundamental principles is paralleled by a new attitude toward world affairs. In the International's resolution on Socialist world action there is no trace either of the utopian pacifism which affected most of them before the war or of the "Third-Force" neutralism which was its postwar child. There is an unprecedented realism on the need for collective military defense against Soviet aggression; it springs from the recognition that democratic capitalism and democratic Socialism have a common interest in fighting totalitarianism of every brand.

Morgan Phillips, the British chairman of the new International, went further than the resolution itself. He asked for a greater military effort and for a new attitude toward the people of the United States. "We should be guilty of a criminal myopia," he said, "if we did not recognize that the policy of the present American Administration shows a degree of enlightened and progressive unselfishness which few countries with comparable power have ever displayed."

It would be tragic if the non-Socialists in the democratic world failed to recognize the value of their Socialist allies—particularly when the Communists are so alive to the mortal danger which Socialism represents for them. A doctrinaire insistence on the virtues of free enterprise is futile in countries where capitalism has long ceased to be either free or enterprising. Outside the American continents, Socialism is the only rival to Communism for the allegiance of the working-class. And in the under-developed areas where capitalism itself is scarcely known, Socialism is the only economic slogan with any popular appeal.

In itself the rebirth of the Socialist International is unlikely to produce spectacular results. Any democratic party must decide its policy in the light of national conditions. The International can express and dramatize existing agreement; it cannot enforce common action on the unwilling. But where a basic community of attitude is recognized, consultation can encourage and accelerate agreement. The Declaration published at Frankfurt is proof of this.

Five years ago the Socialist Parties seemed divided by so many differences of theory, program, organization and situation that a formal International would have

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been a fraud. Patient and continuous consultation has since reduced those differences to unimportance. The British and Scandinavian Socialists are still empirical moralists by comparison with the materialistic views of their Southern neighbors. But this has not prevented them from forming a common front to face the critical problems of the modern world. The British Commonwealth has often demonstrated how much unity of action can be achieved in practice, although there is no constitutional obligation to agree. Indeed, the analogy is fruitful —for, like the Commonwealth, the new International faces its biggest problems and opportunities in Asia.

In the past, for reasons of convenience rather than principle, effective Socialist co-operation has been limited to the rich democracies of Western Europe where almost one out of every three men votes Socialist, and Socialism can be seen as a logical extension of parliamentary liberalism. Outside Europe, Socialism has comparable strength only among the white peoples of the British Commonwealth. But it is, nevertheless, a powerful emotive force in all the under-developed regions of the world, where growing nationalist movements begin to feel the need for some social and economic program. In Asia nearly all the nationalist leaders would describe themselves as Socialists, even though, like Nehru in India or Thakin Nu in Burma, they do not belong to the existing Socialist Parties in their countries. But the Communists, too, present themselves as Socialists. And in many Asian countries the intellectuals are divided between the European and Soviet claims to represent true Socialism.

It is by no means clear to what extent the techniques developed by democratic Socialism in the advanced democracies of Western Europe may be relevant to the problems of primitive peasant communities in Asia. Young movements need more fire and adventure than the middle-aged pragmatism of European Socialists can offer. Most Asians see the cold war as at best a struggle between Atlantic imperialism and Soviet imperialism, and feel no need or desire to take sides. All these factors have tempered the enthusiasm of Asian Socialists for the new International. The Japanese Social Democratic Party is the only one to have joined already as a full member. The Indian Socialists may join next year. But even these two parties cherish an eager optimism about the nature of the modern world which seems unfounded to the West. Dr. Lohia, the brilliant young Indian Socialist, made a speech which would have roused a Labour Party conference to passionate excitement 20 years ago. It seemed tragically inadequate in the ruins of modern Frankfurt.

Even so, European Socialism has won a new prestige in Asia since the war. The liberation of India by a Labour Government is widely contrasted with the policy of other imperial powers. Many Asian Socialists look to the British Labour Party for advice on party organization and economic planning. And the influence of an international organization tends to be greatest with its weaker members. All this gives the new International unique opportunities if it will take them.

At present its activities are financed by an annual budget which would scarcely cover the cost of a single delegation to Tokyo. The Labour Party has proposed that it set up a special Asia Fund and has made the first contribution. But even this will be woefully small in comparison with the money lavished by the Soviet Union on Communism in Asia. This is the crux of the problem. Will democratic parties, financed by voluntary contributions, find the time or money required for international activities which are largely irrelevant to their primary function—which remains to win elections in their own country?

CICERO'S COVENANTS

by Byron S. Miller

UGLY MOB action reigned in a Chicago suburb recently. Its impetus was fear of acquiring Negro neighbors. The locale was Cicero, Ill., an extension of Chicago's southwest side, which has 70,000 residents drawn from more than 20 Middle European nationality groups. No Negroes live there.

In the heyday of Chicago's gangsters, Cicero was famous as Capone headquarters; today the reputation of its governing body is little better. Its police chief is a regular target of the state's attorney and grand jury.

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The Negro question is closely related to the absence of a good government in Cicero. Three years ago a reform movement to reorganize the municipal structure made strong headway until the night before the election. Then the opposition inserted in every mailbox a pamphlet apparently written by Negroes urging support of the reform program on the ground that it would make it possible for Negroes to live in Cicero. Reform lost.

The recent riots were touched off by the action of a white landlady in first renting her own apartment, then selling her 20-flat building, to Negroes.

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When the Negro tenants moved in on June 8, Cicero police forced them out at gunpoint, manhandling them, their rental agent and their mover for good measure. Since action by government officials was involved, the tenants responded with a suit in federal court under the federal Civil Rights Act. In the course of entering an injunction Judge John P. Barnes gave Cicero officials a thorough tongue-lashing. His action was favorably reported by the press.

The move-in took place on Tuesday, July 10, with police present. They did not interfere—even with the neighbors who threatened the tenants with violence directly in front of them. That night, with police merely looking on, a crowd drawn mostly from Cicero gathered at the building; while teen-agers threw stones and broke windows, many older residents openly agitated the crowd. On the next night, the crowd multiplied tenfold; this time the violence was largely committed by Chicagoans who had no direct concern with the fact that Negroes were moving into Cicero. Local police again stood by. Mob psychology prevailed, and by early morning $50,000 worth of damage had been done to the building, making it completely uninhabitable. On succeeding nights the National Guard was called in, and order was restored by virtue of 117 arrests, after four bayonetings and numerous tear-gas bombs.

This was the sixth major case of mob action in the Chicago area in five years. In each case, police failure to disperse crowds led to increasing violence; on each occasion, effective police action in preventing the crowds from growing and in arresting recalcitrants ended the violence. The record is clear that proper police action can prevent mob violence, whatever the mob's motivation.

The more significant problem is the source and strength of the motivation in the Cicero affair. As already indicated, Chicago has shown a clear pattern of violence as the "last resort" to exclude Negroes from white neighborhoods. In addition to the major flare-ups mentioned, there have been over 150 incidents of bomb-throwing, arson, shooting and so forth, all aimed at the same result and occurring in many different sections of the city. The widespread geographical character of these outbreaks and the large crowds involved (5,000 in Cicero, 4,000 at Fernwood four years ago, 2,000 at Peoria Street 18 months ago) demonstrate that the fear of Negro neighbors is no minor phenomenon. Yet the Supreme Court's decision outlawing restrictive covenants was, in general, favorably received. And where, as in Cicero, police malfeasance permits neighborhood resentment to grow into mob violence, decent citizens are uniformly shocked and demand that the police be punished. Many of these same citizens, however, move out of neighborhoods to which Negroes gain access.

What is the explanation for this apparent conflict? There can be no serious contention that equal rights for Negroes as a matter of law are in the same category of public non-acceptance as, say, prohibition was. Perhaps the answer lies in distinguishing between legal principles and social and economic practices.

On grounds of principle, Negroes are entitled to equality of opportunity. The restrictive-covenant cases and many other recent instances of enforcement of the Fourteenth Amendment contribute to the elimination of legal barriers to equality. But, as experience under the laws of the Fair Employment Practices Commission has shown, lifting the bars does not automatically result in complete integration. Certainly the prejudices of individual white people continue. But the urban Negro has acquired certain disabilities as a result of his long status as a second-class citizen which materially postpone his realization of equality during a long period of transition.

On the question of Negro housing, from which the Cicero and similar disorders sprang, residents of white neighborhoods fear the entry of a Negro family strongly enough to resort to violence. Their explanation usually runs along two lines: first, Negro neighbors will cause an immediate drop of 30 to 50 percent in property values; and second, Negroes are unsatisfactory neighbors—crime, disease, etc. The first complaint is economic; the second, social. Both are untrue as usually stated; yet both have enough truth to warrant a legitimate concern over the entry of Negroes into apartment neighborhoods.

The history of the economic objection seems to demonstrate its falsity. Early in the history of many large cities, as in Chicago, Negroes became segregated into a limited area. As their numbers increased, space was made by "cutting up" apartments and homes, frequently resulting in whole families living in a single room. This overcrowding in turn created tremendous pressure for expansion of Negro housing opportunities and occasionally the shift of a nearby neighborhood from white to Negro occupancy. In the early instances in which this occurred, local real-estate agents openly played on racial prejudice to force white owners to flee, selling their properties at forced-sale prices to dummies of the realtors. The agents then turned around and resold the properties to Negroes at substantially higher prices. Thus, historically, the decline in property values to the white owner was caused by his own conduct, not by the presence of Negroes in the neighborhood.

The second or social objection to Negro neighbors is a typical stereotype. Certainly it can be shown that Negroes have a similar proportion of honesty, good

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health, etc., to whites, at least in cases where they do not live in substandard housing. On the basis of these explanations, the fear of acquiring Negro neighbors is frequently criticized as unfounded and unreasonable. To protect his property value, the white owner need only ignore the realtor's scare techniques, bide his time, and ultimately make up his own mind about selling or staying. If he can overcome his prejudice, he will find Negroes to be as good neighbors in terms of property maintenance and personal characteristics as their white predecessors.

This has been the result in single-family home areas. But in most apartment areas where Negroes have gained entry (and most Negro expansion is into apartment areas), a substantial neighborhood decline has in fact followed. That is because of the "cutting up" of apartment buildings in such areas. As new neighborhoods open up for Negroes, the economic pressure for "cutting up" is almost irresistible. A six-flat building, for example, may be purchased on the basis of a monthly rental of $400. "Cut up," it houses 36 families and brings in $1,800 to $2,700 per month. Negroes continue to constitute a market for these "cut-up" apartments, partly because they are used to them, partly because the new ones are preferable to the old ones, and mostly because the shortage of houses is still too intense to give many a real alternative.

When a number of buildings in a new area are "cut up" in this way, slum buildings—substandard housing—are created and the neighborhood becomes a very different one indeed. Children are shoved out into the streets day and night, and juvenile delinquency increases; overcrowding and inadequate sanitation force up disease rates; and the customary occupants of "cut ups" usually bring with them lower neighborhood standards. Where this change takes place, the white owner who was willing to live in a mixed neighborhood changes his mind and sells out. If his building does not lend itself to being "cut up," its value has certainly declined. If it can be "cut up," he loses no money but moves anyway because his neighborhood has changed.

In one Chicago neighborhood the residents are making a determined effort to stabilize as a mixed-occupancy area. Their almost daily efforts to block "cut ups" make this possible, but in most cases even properly written zoning and building codes will not prevail against traditional urban apathy to neighborhood problems and equally traditional municipal building inspection graft.

In the long run, Negroes are not likely to attain free movement with respect to housing until new construction outstrips migration from the South and Negroes no longer serve as a market for the slum-creating "cut up."

SLUMS FOR SERVICEMEN

by Jean Begeman

A SHOCKING report by a Congressional committee on substandard housing and animal-like living conditions of servicemen and their families has jolted the Defense Department into an investigation of housing needs around our new, temporary military installations.

The Senate subcommittee investigating the preparedness program, headed by Lyndon Johnson (D, Texas), turned its attention recently from aluminum and tungsten shortages to an even more critical defense problem —the exploitation of servicemen by rent gougers and landlord profiteers in areas adjacent to Army camps. The committee found that any semblance of patriotism evident during World War II to keep the morale of servicemen high by furnishing adequate houses at reasonable rents had vanished. Instead, today, greedy home owners, eager to capitalize on the situation, "whip into shape every piece of board and tar paper they can find to profit from the temporary influx of servicemen brought about by the misery of war," the report states. "It would seem everything has been converted to houses—garages, coal sheds, chicken coops, barns, tool sheds, granaries and smokehouses. Such hovels are merely gestures of contempt toward those who are desperate enough to take anything which is offered."

"Structures with no water available, heating facilities so bad that bottled drinks will freeze in the same room with a large stove, no sanitary toilet facilities, primitive food storage, no sinks, cardboard windowpanes and paper walls, cannot in 1951 be regarded as *housing*," the Senate committee charges.

Unfortunately, the rent-control law which was left after crippling amendments made by the 80th, 81st and 82nd Congresses affords almost no protection to our servicemen. In most areas, new or converted houses and apartments are not controlled. Even in communities still under rent control, the committee found that landlords openly flout the directives of rent-control boards and make extra charges for parking cars, supplying water, sinks and even the electricity for radios and refrigerators. "Rent gouging ranges from a commonplace 100 percent to 500 percent per month over rentals previously obtained for comparable quarters," the committee reveals. And servicemen are often afraid to report such condi-

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tions for fear they will be forced to vacate the premises.

The Department of Defense—after reading the Senate committee's report on the slums around Camp Breckinridge, Ky.; Camp Rucker, Ala.; and Fort Leonard Wood, Mo.—opened its own investigation (now underway) into housing needs.

By the end of this year, according to unofficial estimates, between 175,000 and 300,000 housing units will be needed for service families. As our armed-force manpower strength approaches the 3.5-million goal and as new military installations are built and old ones reactivated, this figure will rise even higher.

In selecting military installations for reactivation or expansion, the committee warned, the Defense Department should consider as a major criterion the availability of adequate housing for servicemen's families and should obtain firm commitments from local officials guaranteeing that the necessary number of livable housing units will be available for dependents.

Unless this is done and forceful steps are taken by Congress and the Department of Defense, the following types of "homes" now occupied by servicemen at the camps investigated by the Senate committee will be found everywhere an Army or Air Force installation is put into operation:

1. The Doll House—A widow in Waverly, Ky., once built a small playhouse on the back lawn for her daughter. With the reactivation of Camp Breckinridge and the accompanying scarcity of housing, the playhouse was moved into the vacant lot next door. A very small, covered porch was added to the rear, and it became known to service personnel as the "Doll House." Approximately 14 feet wide and nine feet deep, with the porch measuring four by six feet, the Doll House has been divided into four rooms. A sergeant, his wife, three children and his mother-in-law now live there. Only the center room is large enough to hold a bed and it is impossible to walk across the room in any direction without climbing over the bed. The sergeant pays $35 per month for the premises, but before the rent-control office acted he was paying $45 per month.

2. *The Bottle House*—Perhaps the most ingeniously devised housing for soldiers in the area of Camp Breckinridge is a small shack known as the "Bottle House." The front of the house is built of mortar and whisky bottles, the bottoms of the bottles turned out to give a smooth surface over which whitewash has been applied. Due, no doubt, to a scarcity of bottles, the rear section of the house is constructed of several hundred beer cans also set into mortar. Water is secured from a rather untidy well in the next lot. A corporal and his family of three reside there and pay $25 per month for the partitioned one-room shack, which includes rickety furniture and electricity.

3. *The Box*—Next door to the Bottle House is a tiny, boxlike shack which has been divided into two rooms. Rented to a sergeant, his wife and child, "the Box" has a coal stove for heating and cooking. Water is secured from a pump near the house. Electricity and crude furniture are included in the rent of $20 per month.

4. *The Chicken Coop*—A private from Camp Breckinridge resides in a building which was formerly a chicken coop. The roof leaks so badly that furniture has to be moved around the building when it rains to keep it from becoming damaged. The rent: $27.50 per month.

5. *The Rat House*—One landlord has converted a former garage into two apartments by putting a sagging cardboard wall down the middle of the garage. The quarters on one side of this garage were recently rented to a sergeant (a World War II veteran of campaigns in Naples, Rome, Southern France, Normandy, the Rhineland and Central Europe), his wife and three children. The apartment consists of one room with a chest-high counter dividing it into two sections. The floors are rough and splintery. There is no bath, no running water and no toilet. The sergeant's wife was so frightened by the rats which ran around the garage during the night that she kept the lights on continuously, until her six-month-old baby became restless. One night she heard the baby crying in its crib. When she turned on the lights, she found that the baby had been bitten three times on the left hand and was bleeding badly. When she frantically requested the landlady to permit her to use the telephone to call her husband who was at Camp Breckinridge that evening, the landlady refused. The following morning the baby's hand had swollen to the size of an adult's hand. The baby is still under medical treatment by Army doctors. The sergeant was paying $50 per month rent.

6. *The Coal Shed*—A coal shed, situated behind a regular home near Camp Breckinridge, has been converted into two rental units. A sergeant and his family of three occupy the two front rooms for which they pay $40 per month furnished. Water is secured from a hose in the landlady's front yard. A coal-oil stove is supplied for cooking. A private and his wife occupy the rear room of the shack. They have a kerosene stove and a minimum of furniture for which they also pay slightly more than $40 per month. The floors are wavy, the ceiling rough, and a thin corrugated cardboard wall

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divides this room from the front apartment. There are no inside toilet facilities.

7. *The Tool Shed*—An old tool shed on wheels has been converted into living quarters and rented to a Camp Breckinridge sergeant, his wife and three children for $50 per month. It is divided into three tiny rooms with peeling wallpaper and dirty linoleum floors. No screens are available.

8. *The Store*—Property owners in the area of Camp Rucker, Ala., have found a bonanza in renting unoccupied buildings as accommodations for servicemen. A converted store, renting for $35 a month, houses a master sergeant, his wife and two children. Prior to the reactivation of the camp, this store was rented to a local gas-station attendant for $12.50 per month. The so-called apartment is furnished with two double beds, a broken rocking chair, a small table and one lamp. A cold-water faucet is the only plumbing. The children play in a dusty yard close to the outside privy which must serve six families.

9. *The Firetrap*—In Ozark, Ala., a 15-room hotel was placed off limits to service personnel by the camp command because servicemen's families living in the building were occupying a veritable firetrap. Before the order, each of the 15 rooms was occupied by servicemen's families who were paying $50 a month for the meager accommodations. Heat during the cold months was furnished by a pot-bellied stove which stood in the center hall. Although the families realized the hazards under which they were living, they protested against having the building placed off limits, for they were unable to find other quarters.

10. *The Garage*—Fort Leonard Wood, Mo., one of our largest Army camps, was reactivated in August, 1950. Since that date, rents have spiraled, increasing by 100 to 300 percent. Single-family trailers, garages, gasoline stations, overnight cabins, lofts in barns have been modified to provide rentable quarters. An auto-repair garage, about 100 feet long and 25 feet wide, is being converted into apartments. These apartments will be more like cells than homes; the only light and ventilation must come through the half-windowed doors. The owner has not yet decided on rents for his converted garage units but thinks each one should rent for from $10 to $12.50 *per week*, "furnished."

While the Senate report throws the spotlight on only three Army camps, it is increasingly apparent that the situations described in the report are not confined to these three installations. They are conditions certain to arise when small communities have a sudden influx of service personnel. The Senate committee has called on the Department of Defense to make recommendations for whatever additional legislation it deems necessary to remedy the situation. Congress could authorize funds for pre-fabricated houses, trailer camps, converted barracks and other more livable quarters for the servicemen and their families. But such measures would not really touch the basic need—a stronger Housing and Rent Act. The present Act provides that the government may authorize the building of houses only on the sites of *permanent* military establishments.

Sen. Thomas C. Hennings of Missouri, where Fort Leonard Wood is located, began work on such legislation as soon as he read the Senate report. "This report," Hennings said, "should be required reading for every member of Congress. It is not sufficient to decry conditions and unleash some impassioned oratory and point the finger and declare with patriotic fervor that we must 'do something for our men in uniform'. The plain fact of the matter is that the unscrupulous landlords who are extorting outrageous rents for dilapidated, filthy hovels are doing so, in most cases, strictly within the limits of the law."

Senator Hennings has introduced two bills that would "set up certain standards against gouging, profiteering and unfair eviction, and providing penalties for circumvention and evasion." One would extend the Housing and Rent Act, recontrolling all types of housing in critical defense areas, including motor courts, trailer courts, hotels and new and converted construction. The other measure would provide a means of expediting the construction of military or civilian housing projects vital to the national defense where private enterprise is unwilling or unable from an investment standpoint to undertake or finance such projects. This bill would greatly assist the military by authorizing government-built housing at reactivated military installations.

Secretary of the Army Frank Pace Jr. has announced that the military is taking immediate steps to attack this whole problem. If the Defense Department makes a strong bid for adequate legislation, Congress will be forced to act.

Senator Hennings said, "I strongly doubt that the American people will permit the Congress to disclaim responsibility for these conditions. Unless we act and act promptly and soundly to provide effective and enforceable legislation, we shall have failed not only the servicemen but the whole democratic ideal which is, in fact, the only reason for their being in uniform and subjected to these unwholesome and inexcusable indignities."

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HAROLD L. ICKES: *Surreptitious Diplomacy*

IT HAS always been a question to what extent, if at all, public opinion should be permitted to express itself prior to commitments on foreign affairs by the national Administration. I have never believed that the negotiation of a treaty with another nation could be conducted as a town-hall meeting. On the other hand, I have never been able to subscribe to the theory that the people should be denied any opportunity to make their wishes known on some such broad fundamental issue as whether or not we should kiss on both cheeks such a man as Franco, and not only resume but enlarge our relations with him as though he were not the international gangster that he is.

After many twistings and turnings and double-somersaultings—deceptively, surreptitiously and conspiratorily—our "now-you-see-it, now-you-don't-see-it" Department of State has been concocting a brew that will be bitter to the taste of Americans who really meant what they said when they declared that they would have nothing to do with Fascism or Nazism as practised by such deadly enemies of democracy as Mussolini, Hitler and Franco. So far as I am concerned, if he were still alive, I would much prefer to lie down with the lion, Hitler, than with the jackal, Franco. I have never cared for a hypocritical and contemptible sneak which is just what Franco is and always will be despite any protestation or promise that he may make for monetary benefit to himself. His exhalations are so noisome and poisonous that it is a matter of surprise that any American would run the risk of suffocation by entering a room in which negotiations were being carried on with this creature.

Of course, we are so used to the about-facings of our Secretary of State that the country has gone far in the direction of not crediting what he says. So far as Franco is concerned, Mr. Acheson has pulled the petals from a dozen daisies. His firm pronouncement of today is frequently the opposite of what he said yesterday and is subject to serious variations tomorrow. He reminds Americans of some of our great Secretaries of State of the past—Jefferson, Madison, John Quincy Adams, Hay, Root, Hughes and Stimson—because he is so different. The fist that he has waved under the noses of Fascist dictators is a fist of unbaked clay powered by biceps of straw.

It may be, as Mr. Acheson seems to assume, that the American people are presumptuous in feeling that they should be consulted before this political copperhead is added to their household pets. But what of France and Great Britain, Belgium and the Netherlands? Are these allies of ours to be treated by Mr. Acheson with the arrogance to which Americans have become accustomed? With what heady brew has our Secretary of State distended himself that he feels himself as superior to the American people as Franco does to the Spanish? Does he arrogate to himself the right to impose Franco, the Fascist, upon friendly allies as well as upon his fellow citizens? Particularly Western Europe has the right to know whether this latest evidence of Acheson's apprehension represents strength rather than weakness.

That some secret machinations have been going on between Franco, the jackal of Hitler and Mussolini, and representatives of the State Department there seems to be no doubt, although there have been no frank disclosures as to their nature or extent. It is evident that we are being insidiously indoctrinated, Soviet style, to believe that we ought to barter American honor for bases and airfields, which formerly Hitler was permitted to use, in order to defend our tarnished honor. But would it be worth defending at such a price?

Surely France and Great Britain know as much about Spain and her military potentialities as does Mr. Acheson, who, after all, is far from being as omniscient as he may consider himself to be. The naval and military genius of Great Britain destroyed the Spanish Armada and won the Peninsular Campaign. Or was it, perchance, the prenatal naval and military genius of America, more particularly that of General MacArthur, to which should go the credit for these victories and, therefore, the right to speak with authority as to the war potentialities of this Franco-bedeviled country.

France and Great Britain, our allies, are not vassal states. They should not permit themselves to be stampeded by the hysteria and fear that for too long a time has constituted the atmosphere in which American diplomacy has operated. Has it ever occurred to Mr. Acheson or to any of his subordinates who, with him, live in nervous dread of McCarthyism that the Spanish people have the right to decide, by a secret and safeguarded ballot under the authority and protection of the United Nations, what form of government they would prefer? Or, are the Spanish people, as are our views on Spain, to be taken for granted? Are they to be denied the right to express their choice as among a Fascist dictatorship, a Royalist regime and a Republic? We missed an earlier chance to give a nation the right to choose its own form of government, or rather we deliberately passed it up, in Greece. HAROLD L. ICKES

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BOOKS IN REVIEW

THE PHILOSOPHY OF ALFRED NORTH WHITEHEAD

by Y. H. Krikorian

IN THE MODERN ERA there have been many penetrating philosophic analyses of specific, well-defined areas — of science, politics, morals and art — but bold, sweeping systems, such as give a broad synthesis of reality and are generally meant when we speak of metaphysics, have been rare. One reason for this scarcity has been the reaction against the grandiose, dogmatic systems of the past; another has been the contemporary positivistic temper of mind that tends to limit philosophic claims to observable statements; and still a third has been the realization that the task of metaphysics, if it is to be done in a responsible manner, is infinitely difficult. Alfred North Whitehead is one of the few exceptions. He has constructed a metaphysics that is at once spacious, coherent and undogmatic—one that has integrated the latest developments of science with other rich phases of human experience.

WHITEHEAD AND THE MODERN WORLD, by Victor Lowe, Charles Hartshorne and A. H. Johnson (Beacon Press; $1.50).

This metaphysics is the result of a lifetime of activity and reflection in a number of fields. In his earlier years Whitehead was a mathematician at Cambridge University and later at the University of London. His *A Treatise on Universal Algebra*, and the monumental three-volume *Principia Mathematica*, written in collaboration with Bertrand Russell, belong to that period. But even this early in his career Whitehead's interest was more philosophical than mathematical. He was concerned with basic, general ideas of mathematics rather than with specific mathematical problems. He next became interested in the physical sciences. His books, *An Enquiry Concerning the Principles of Natural Knowledge*, *The Concept of Nature* and *The Principle of Relativity*, belong together, and there again his concern was definitely philosophical. In these books he was already beginning to propound a new type of natural philosophy. Finally, when in 1924 he was invited to a professorship in philosophy by Harvard University, where he taught until his retirement in 1937, he developed his metaphysics in detail. The full and final account of his philosophic system is given in his trilogy: *Science and the Modern World*, an exciting book which contains a sketch of his metaphysics; *Process and Reality*, his magnum opus; and *Adventures of Ideas*, the most readable of his books.

Whitehead has left a deep impression on contemporary thought. Since his death in 1947 many articles have appeared in tribute to his name. *Whitehead and the Modern World* is a group of these by three competent philosophers who studied with Whitehead and were imbued with his outlook. On the whole, these articles are expository. Victor Lowe presents a subtle analysis of Whitehead's philosophy of nature, with emphasis upon his principle of extensive abstraction; Charles Hartshorne gives an appreciative account of his metaphysics; and A. H. Johnson offers a clear sketch of his views on the philosophy of civilization. Yet in this small book there is already the beginning of divergence in interpretation. Whitehead usually balanced contrasting principles so evenly that the balance was bound to be disturbed. Interpreting Whitehead's philosophy, Hartshorne drifts one way, giving us a more spiritualistic Whitehead; Lowe drifts in another, giving us a more naturalistic Whitehead. We may soon have right Whiteheadians and left Whiteheadians. Nevertheless these articles present a fairly good account of Whitehead's key ideas. What, then, are they?

First, as for Whitehead's approach to his task as philosopher. In his own words, speculative philosophy "is the endeavor to frame a coherent, logical, necessary system of general ideas in terms of which every element of our experience can be interpreted." In this definition both reason and experience have their place. Whitehead is thus a rationalist as well as an empiricist. As Lowe expresses it when referring to Whitehead's method, "We find two main characteristics. . . . One is his obvious bold rationalism. . . . The other is an unusual kind and degree of concreteness." Hartshorne similarly maintains, "Whitehead is a rationalist who formulates and even practices a rational method! . . . In spite, or because of, his genuine rationalism, Whitehead is also an empiricist who actually describes experience—and not some pseudo-rationalist myth about experience."

The key idea in Whitehead's interpretation of reality is process, and the title of his major work reminds us of this fact. The notion of process was eloquently expressed in early Greek philosophy by Heraclitus: "You cannot step twice into the same river; for fresh waters are ever flowing in upon us." In modern philosophy Bergson, James, Dewey and Alexander have again made change or flux the central concept of philosophy. The transitoriness of everyday events, the principle of evolution and the recent theories of matter all favor such a view.

Whitehead's notion of process is rich and many-sided. First, process is a universal happening in the spatio-temporal world. Every point in nature is in the throes of change—some swifter, others slower. There are no permanent substances, no immutable material particles, no self-sufficient realities. In Whitehead's view "becoming" attains greater importance metaphysically than "being." As he expresses it, "The

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world is always becoming, and as it becomes it passes away and perishes." Second, world-process or becoming is not sheer flux, formless continuity, but is atomized, individualized into units of process. Passing events initiate new processes. The creative activity of emerging events brings together various elements of the prior events to form new syntheses that are characterized by new qualities and activities. In time these new syntheses disintegrate and become material for future events. This pattern of world-process is endless. Whitehead calls the units of process "actual entities." These are the ultimate facts of reality; there is no going behind them to anything more real. These units are not observable objects like stones, trees or human beings; they are too microscopic and transitory. They are like a vibration or pulse; yet every object is nothing more than a complex grouping of these processes. Finally, a given process, and this is the most controversial aspect of Whitehead's suggestion, is not merely a physical event but rather a center or pulse of experience. Individualized processes are, if you like, miniatures of human experience. They have feelings and are guided by aims. Even atoms and molecules, for Whitehead, are composed of processes which possess inner experience. Thus nature is alive at every point. This does not mean that every process has "conscious" experience, but it does mean that all processes have experience in the widest sense of the term. Whitehead's metaphysics becomes essentially a type of pampsychism.

In the turmoil of the changing world there is still, for Whitehead, something permanent. All passing and perishing events exhibit certain qualities that are not exposed to the ravages of time. Fallen leaves that are carried away by the winds, joyous moods that are changed by succeeding events, have eternal characteristics. The same shade of green or the same oval contour observed in one of the drifting leaves may recur in the future; the same joyous mood may recur. Qualities like greenness, ovalness, joyfulness, usually designated "universals," Whitehead calls "eternal objects." Eternal objects, for him, do not emerge from nature to perish like other events—they invade nature, or "ingress" (to use his own term) into the events of nature.

Whitehead's thought here, with some modifications, is similar to Plato's. Plato, in his attempt to reconcile the conflict between the changing and the changeless, the temporal and the eternal, had suggested the theory of Ideas or Forms. What one perceives, he claimed, are imperfect, perishing copies of immutable, eternal models. All straight lines, for example, as perceived by the senses are only crude repetitions of an ideal straight line. Similarly, Whitehead's eternal objects are immutable. They are not confined to the spatio-temporal world, yet they may be exemplified in the transitory events of this world. But Whitehead's eternal objects, unlike Plato's Ideas, are not superior realities; they are, rather, possibilities of realization.

One further question: How does one explain the fact that eternal objects as possibilities are actualized in the world in a rational, orderly way? The world exhibits a rational order, yet it might have been a chaos. Events occur as if prescribed by certain standards, yet they might have been altogether capricious. Whitehead thinks reality must contain some principle of limitation or selection to make this orderliness possible. This principle of limitation or rationality he calls "God." One may wish to ask, "Why should there be this principle of rationality, this God?" No answer can be given to this question, since God as the principle of rationality is the ground for the presence of everything. Not even God can account for His presence.

Yet Whitehead's God is not merely a metaphysical principle, but an object to satisfy religious aspiration. His God is persuasive rather than coercive; not omnipotent, but a "fellow-sufferer who understands." He is "wisdom." He is the poet of the world "with tender patience leading it by his vision of truth, beauty, and goodness." In his discussion, Hartshorne emphasizes the religious implications of Whitehead's idea of God. He claims that Whitehead is the first great philosophical theist who, "as a philosopher, really believes in the God of religion." And the God of religion for Hartshorne is one "who knows, loves, and wills with regard to others who know, love, and will." He goes so far as to say that no great philosopher before Whitehead put "this manifest fact of experience in clear technical terms."

The transition from Whitehead's metaphysics to his philosophy of civilization is a natural one. Since every throb of existence has value, one must appreciate the unique value of each human being. That results, as Johnson points out, in "the toleration—indeed the encouragement . . . of a wide range of individual differences." Whitehead carries this respect for different thoughts and actions to the sphere of international relations. As he expresses it, "A diversification among human communities is essential for the providing of the incentive and the material for the Odyssey of the human spirit." This leads him to the claim that ultimately civilization cannot be based on force. Not that there is no place for compulsion in society, but since civilization involves tolerance of individual differences and devotion to high ideals, it must rely on rational persuasion rather than on force.

Persuasion and tolerance, then, are conditions of civilized society. He further conceives such a society as characterized by concern for truth, beauty, adventure, art and peace. He analyzes these concepts in detail. Beauty, for example, is patterned contrast. Adventure is the search for perfection and not mere geographical exploration. As static perfection is not possible, the only choice is progress or decadence. Without adventure civilization is bound to decay. Peace is not mere absence of strife—industrial or international—but immunity to the distractions of existence. It is obtained by devotion to exalted ideals and by steady reliance on the efficacy of noble actions.

Whitehead's metaphysics is one of the most daring and magnificent philosophical creations of our time. As against the abstractions of nineteenth-century scientific materialism he emphasizes concreteness and fidelity to experience. As

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against the irresponsible speculation of romanticists he insists on the necessity of incorporating into one's philosophy matters of fact and the most exacting recent theories of science. As against many thin current philosophies he richly weaves together varied aspects of experience; change with permanence, causality with teleology, science with religion, modern hopes with traditional values. Nevertheless there are serious objections to Whitehead's philosophy.

In his speculative philosophy he presents the types of claim that are denied empirical knowledge. It is true that he is scrupulously empirical whenever the matter under discussion permits; yet in his attempt to fill the gaps in our omniscience he suggests ideas which are basically not verifiable. In this respect he partly revives the classic role of philosophy as something having access to knowledge which is not open to the uninitiated. But this role seems doubtful to many. Whitehead rightly points out that a true metaphysics must do justice to all phases of experience and that one's final interpretation of reality must escape the abstractions of the specific sciences; yet to achieve such an all-embracing philosophy it should not be necessary to go beyond natural, experimental knowledge. What we need is a more empirical metaphysics than Whitehead has offered.

Take Whitehead's basic contention that every process, even the physical one, involves inner experience; that every point in the universe has feeling and is guided by a subjective aim. This affirmation is certainly not the result of empirical knowledge. On the contrary, it is nothing more than a postulate which goes beyond inductive knowledge to satisfy the demands of concreteness and of the continuity of matter and mind. And though one must make serious attempts to meet these demands, one's procedure must not, like Whitehead's, introduce greater difficulties than one started with.

Similarly unwarranted is his claim that reality must contain a principle of limitation, by him called God, as a ground for the actualization of possibilities. Unless one adheres to Whitehead's theories of eternal objects and actual entities, which are highly controversial, there is no need of going outside of nature to make sense of natural happenings. It is true that Whitehead's metaphysical God is free from most of the obscurities of the traditional gods and that, as Lowe suggests, "if there is a God who has anything to do with nature, He is the sort of God who appears in Whitehead's system." But one cannot help pointing out that this postulate gets one involved in the same difficulties as characterize every non-empirical philosophy.

Whitehead's metaphysics is an impressive alternative to naturalistic philosophy. To some his philosophy may be a new source of hope for retaining beliefs which have been deeply disturbed by science; but to others his occasional flights beyond the natural world are invitations they cannot accept. Yet even the latter need not deprive themselves of Whitehead's rich and generous insights. As Lowe remarks: "The experiment of naturalizing Whitehead's philosophy of nature ought to be tried. That is one of the hardest, biggest, and probably one of the most rewarding tasks our generation can undertake."

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THE CHINESE OVERSEAS

THE CHINESE IN SOUTHEAST ASIA, by Victor Purcell (For the Royal Institute of International Affairs and Institute of Pacific Relations, Oxford University Press; $11.50).

THE NAN YANG, or South Sea, as the region between India and China with the adjoining archipelagoes is called by the Chinese, has a Chinese population of about ten million, or six percent of the total. The ways of life of these overseas Chinese and their influence on the region's development have been described in hundreds of books—usually in a tone of antagonism. As wage-earners and artisans the Chinese immigrants compete with the original population (or seem to be doing so); as merchants, money-lenders and small industrialists their descendants prevent the rise of an indigenous middle class; and although they marry local women, they live to themselves and claim dual citizenship. There were small Chinese merchant colonies long before there were European ones; but the great majority of Chinese residents are the offspring of laborers attracted and exploited by foreign enterprise.

Any realistic study that tends to offset the resulting prejudices is helpful to international understanding. Victor Purcell is well qualified for that task. He was for many years a member of the Malayan Civil Service with special responsibility for Chinese affairs; he has lived in China, speaks Chinese and appreciates the Chinese mentality. He has visited every part of the Nan Yang and belongs to that small number of discerning travelers who can interestingly pursue inviting bypaths without losing their direction.

The main body of the book is made up of separate demographic, historical, descriptive and analytical chapters about the Chinese in Burma, Siam, Indo-China, Malaya, British Borneo, Indonesia and the Philippines. They relate the changing numbers and functions of the Chinese communities to changing conditions and policies in the respective territories. Drawn from reliable sources and from personal observation, they make up a definitive account of one of the most interesting phases of colonial history—brought up to the end of 1950 in a supplementary chapter.

The chapters on the region as a whole are more open to challenge because they contain more generalizations and in these the author sometimes betrays the influence of his long exposure to the colonial point of view. For example, he conveys the impression that only European rule has kept large parts of the region under unified control, without questioning whether this has really benefited the people; and that, unless some "new and mysterious synthesis" should take place, the new political structures will soon collapse, perhaps to make room for a large number of compact military dictatorships. He is hostile to Chinese nationalism and especially to Chinese schooling in Southeast Asia,

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though he is fair enough to admit that both the political influence of the home country and the China-centered teaching in the schools resulted in the main from the difficult position in which the Chinese overseas found themselves.

Like many other writers, Purcell conveys the impression that Asian societies, including the overseas Chinese, are inherently tradition-minded, and that democratic institutions "grafted" upon their own are liable soon to be lost after the withdrawal of European rule. He evidently is reluctant to admit that this rule actually is coming to an end in Malaya and Indo-China.

Such views and the general attitude from which they spring are somewhat contradicted by his recognition of the unusual adaptability of the Chinese to changing circumstances. Their industry, thrift and ingenuity, had they not been forced into channels helpful to foreign trade rather than social welfare, might have become much greater assets to economic and cultural growth than they actually were. Regarded merely as a useful intermediary between rulers and peasantry, useful largely because he helped to prevent the rise of an educated indigenous middle class, the small Chinese tradesman—like his Jewish counterpart in Central Europe in former days and his Indian counterpart in Africa—could only become a parasite.

Although he traces some of the immediate effects of colonial rule on the Chinese communities, Purcell does not sufficiently recognize the more remote consequences for group character and group relations. Even the rise of quasi-criminal secret societies among the overseas Chinese, which he deplores, a degeneration of traditional forms of organization, resulted from the twofold insecurity of warlordism in the homeland and discrimination—even violation of basic rights—overseas. And it was because of this pervading sense of insecurity that the national government of China was able to keep its hold over the great majority of Chinese in Southeast Asia, even those whose families had lived there for several generations. It is because of it that large proportions of these societies of family-centered small traders, artisans and farmers today are willing to accept the patronage of the Communist government of China.

BRUNO LASKER

Bruno Lasker is the author of Human Bondage in Southeast Asia, Asia on the Move *(a study of population movements) and other books on Eastern Asia.*

FRENCH CLASSICS

THE NOVEL IN FRANCE, by Martin Turnell (New Directions; $4.25).

THE PRINCESS OF CLEVES, by Madame de Lafayette. Translated by Nancy Mitford (New Directions; $1.50).

BECAUSE I have had a disturbing antipathy to most of the young English critics lately, Martin Turnell's notable study of seven French novelists is a reassuring work. Turnell uses the methods of modern scholarship (there is an excellent chapter on the language of fiction), but his concern with technique is balanced by the steady values of historical criticism. His book is rather like F. O. Matthiessen's *American Renaissance*, but perhaps lighter in tone, less solemn.

The subject matter—the French literary tradition itself—is of course partly responsible for Turnell's grace and wit; it would be hard for any critic to be dull about it. The first study in the book is on *The Princess of Cleves*, recently reprinted in the New Classics Series of New Directions. This is a wonderful little novel—a combination of Jane Austen and Machiavelli as it were—that already, by 1678, had reached a high peak of sophistication and psychological insight. It is the study of a virtuous woman in the promiscuous and barbaric court of Henri II—an atmosphere of the most elaborate pageantry and luxury, of refinements of behavior and expression which are enough to make Pamela blush and Sister Carrie marvel.

Choderlos de Laclos' *Dangerous Acquaintances*, in the late eighteenth century, carried the study of passion—perhaps the central unifying theme of French literature in its highest aspects—into the realm of pathology, where a woman's virtue was merely the avenue of her corruption. Benjamin Constant's *Adolphe*, in the early nineteenth century, opens the modern tradition of the weak and vacillating hero, appalling for his indecision rather than his ferocity. Turnell is particularly good on all three of these instances of the high classical tradition of the French novel, while he uses Stendhal as the link between this tradition and a society in which the artist becomes increasingly isolated, desperate, "homeless." But here he is, by my standards, on less certain and perhaps only more fashionable ground.

To be sure, Stendhal was still sustained by an established literary tradition, but, for instance, is *Lucien Leuwen* a "very great political novel" whose irony has nothing in common with "the flashy vulgarity of *Candide*"? It almost seems that it was Stendhal's insights, rather than Freud's (who comes off poorly here), which altered the whole perspective of European psychology. Turnell clings to eighteenth-century values, I think, and is fundamentally out of sympathy with, and less informed about, those developments of the modern period which could be no less interesting. Zola is summarily dismissed in this scheme of things (though I still like the poor old fellow), and the treatment of Balzac is disdainful and even perverse.

These novelists lacked the balance and serenity of the earlier writers, or the authority of tradition and a common language; perhaps they did reflect the "break-up of man" in the modern world, but is there nothing, absolutely nothing, to compensate for this? What Turnell treats as the collapse of a culture, during the middle nineteenth century, may be in fact the deterioration of a class structure or an economic order, and his sympathies also tend to stress the analytical rather than the emotional powers in a work of art. It is interesting to compare *The Novel in France* with Marc Slonim's *Epic of Russian Literature*, where a greater concern with the gross, mad, idiotic human impulses was nevertheless linked to a deeper sense of the common welfare: where the Russians tended, indeed, to be a race of demented evangelicists while the French, in Turnell's view, are the masters of ordered sensibility.

Yet the astringent essay on Flaubert,

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and the "mystique of art" which his admirers have embraced perhaps particularly in this country, shows another aspect of Turnell's talent. The long chapter on Proust, which emphasizes the element of homosexuality in what became, for the twentieth-century novelist, the "prison of personality," is rewarding, too. *The Novel in France* is an excellent book as a whole and one that defines again the true and broad province of literary criticism itself.

MAXWELL GEISMAR

Maxwell Geismar is the author of Writers in Crisis and The Last of the Provincials, the first two volumes in a critical study of the novel in America.

GRASS-ROOTS POLITICS

McDONOUGH, by Francis T. Field (Duell, Sloan and Pearce; $3.50).

THE PUBLISHERS present *McDonough* as primarily a book about American political life, but it is that on only one level. Quoting, as prologue, from the Bible: "So then it is not of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth, but of God that showeth mercy," the author takes his aim; and it is only after you have finished this remarkable novel that you come at last to realize that his basic theme, sustained in several variations, is the problem of personal salvation. Judging from his major, most intensely written scenes, that would have been Francis T. Field's theme regardless of his material.

Several other things about this book are clear: though a first novel, it is surely the result of long practice in writing; it is a ranging, imaginative effort; and it is based, as every good book is and as few first novels are, on solid knowledge. On its surface level it is one of the best informed novels yet written about American local politics and politicians, demonstrating again and again the thesis that the course of American politics depends upon the county boss, the man who delivers the vote. Thomas McDonough is such a boss in Lenape County in New Jersey, a region that becomes as vivid and realized as any American place I can think of in the fiction of recent years. Complex, like all men, and contradictory, McDonough is at the center of a jungle of machine politics where the great necessities are fast, instinctive decisions rooted in slow, long experience, and ruthless action to impress those decisions on the wayward voter. In this compulsive need to act he submerges his doubts and contradictions, the effort creating a heightened tension by which his source of energy is, as it were, recharged.

At the story's opening McDonough, native of New Boynton, product of a wrecked marriage and a scattered family, has been married for two years to Carmela, daughter of the Camardas, a poor family of many children and grandchildren living their crowded days in the Red Hook slums of Brooklyn. It was in "Carm," the beautiful and spirited one among his daughters, that old John Camarda, an anarchist dockworker, had put his hopes. And it was from his rugged discipline, his unceasing expounding of social propaganda, that Carmela had escaped, first in passionate happiness with her husband and her child to New Jersey; then, after her husband's death to a teacher's post in Lenape County; finally into marriage with McDonough, its most powerful, if not most respectable, citizen. The ensuing silent struggle is inevitable.

The disintegration of McDonough's power in the intimate marital conflict is counterpointed against his increasing power in the political conflict over which he eventually wins to mastery. Man and wife, McDonough and Carmela face each other at last across a small space deep as any canyon. And in the helpless turning away begins their separate search for the personal deliverance that is part of the novel's recurring motif.

BEN RAEBURN

Ben Raeburn, editor of Horizon Press, edited the anthology, Treasury for the Free World.

THEATRE

The New Moralities *

A PLAY may be well-written, intellectually stimulating, socially significant and still not be good. This is the case with Sartre's *Le Diable et le Bon Dieu*, a big machine, as the French phrase it, which churns up a great deal of interesting and perhaps important matter without ever imparting the feeling of a vital experience.

In any sketch of the contemporary theatre in New York, London and Paris, it is necessary to bear this distinction in mind. There is a type of theatregoer who becomes offended when one appears unimpressed by the ideological content or the literary distinction of certain high-minded plays. Such a theatregoer may become as irritating as the more common type who is unaware of any other value than that of the "entertaining." Of the two, the latter type is instinctively closer to the reality of art, although a complete trust in his visceral reactions might virtually end the possibility of all art in the theatre.

What is wrong with Sartre's ambitious play is that nothing within it is motivated except as an "idea" demands it. The central figure arbitrarily switches from evil to good at the point where he has given full literary and philosophic expression to his wickedness. We are thus unable to believe in the evil he rejects or the good he espouses, so that when he takes leave of both to pursue his life as a lonely man (without concern for either category) his choice is practically meaningless: zero can produce nothing but zero.

When characters are set up chiefly as embodiments of general ideas, the ideas themselves begin to lose substance. In Sartre's play, the hero finally decides to

* This article is the first of several reflective essays on the theatre in Europe that Mr. Clurman will contribute in the next few weeks.

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identify himself with the historically doomed peasants' rebellion (of the sixteenth century), but the decision seems to be made only because Sartre believes man must choose, not because the character is so presented that any particular choice appears inevitable. Consequently, the play's "philosophy" leaves us exactly nowhere: we do not see on the basis of the play's evidence why any choice is necessary, since—with the negation of the concept of good or evil—all values are destroyed and all choices become matters of indifference.

I am not disputing Sartre's ideas as such; I merely point out that the thinker who exploits the stage for purposes of popular exposition usually defeats his purpose unless he is able to create a true theatrical organism. For this reason some of our less intellectually keen American playwrights are sounder and, in the end, more nourishing artistically than even so brilliant and representative a figure as Sartre.

Subtle psychological character portrayal is not necessarily the key to living dramaturgy. There is very little "psychology" in the Greek dramatists—or in Shaw. Theatrical life is created when the symbols used are adequate to the nature and force of the dramatist's inspiration. Shaw's characters aren't "real" (in a Chekhovian or Ibsenlike sense), but they exactly convey his particular brand of wit, common sense and good will. Sartre himself has been more successful on other occasions in creating effective symbols for his thought.

What is valuable about Sartre's plays and those of the Frenchmen of his generation is that they are attempts to communicate certain peculiarly contemporary modes of French thinking and feeling. For example, in *Le Diable et le Bon Dieu*, Sartre manages to indicate, through the figure of the peasant leader, his attitude toward the Communists, whom he both respects and distrusts, rejecting their outlook on life, though willing to work with them in specific instances. But the most striking feature of the new French dramatic output is the total refusal to profess any sentiment that smacks of "nobility." In fact, there seems to be some compulsion to make the "hero" of the French play today thoroughly bad.

What this means, perhaps, is that the Frenchman, through recent unfortunate experience, has come to distrust all officially noble institutions and personalities. He will accept at face value only one who professes himself more or less damaged and guilty. Think of Camus' Caligula, most of Sartre's protagonists and the boy in *La Neige Etait Sale* ("The Snow Was Dirty") who arranges for the seduction of the girl he loves by a criminal. (When her purity is finally established, the boy experiences a kind of exalted humiliation and accepts his condemnation.) The new French "hero" not only expects, permits and does evil things, but when he turns "good" he is so fanatic in his conversion that he simply becomes a monster of another stripe —as is the case in some of Montherlant's plays.

We are not to conclude from this that the French have become corrupt, but rather that the playwrights, still incapable of digesting the complexity of contemporary reality as a whole, are induced to write "morality plays" in which, instead of showing the good (normal) man beset by evil (as in the old morality plays), the bad (normal) man is shown tempted by goodness. There is here an element of intellectual paradox—a game of which the French are very fond—and since the better or more imposing French playwrights are predominantly intellectual in their approach, we get a new dramatic tone which is, to an American at any rate, fascinating, irritating, false, and still, in a perverse way, meaningful. The drama here mirrors a world that does not know which way to turn and so amuses itself in turning itself, so to speak, inside out.

HAROLD CLURMAN

ON THE AIR

Just Listen

THERE IS still plenty of reason for owning a radio. The Korean truce negotiations got underway as a direct result of Malik's speech broadcast on *The Price of Peace*, a United Nations Radio program. The weekly show was reviewed here when it went on the air last April. The Broadcasting and Film Commission of the National Council of Churches of Christ in America has issued a brochure answering negatively the question "Is Radio Dying?" The Commission had, last season, five network radio programs; two each on NBC and ABC, one on Mutual. In the first five months of this year, these programs drew 341,913 letters—a mail pull heavy enough to make any sponsor drool.

Despite the growing forest of television antennas, even FM radio is still alive. *Broadcasting* magazine recently ran an editorial suggesting that nine-tenths of the spectrum space now allocated to FM be taken away from that medium. Wishfully, *Broadcasting* went on to assert that the Federal Communications Commission "is pondering what it should do about the vast expanse of spectrum space assigned to but not being used by FM." Josh L. Horne, who

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runs WFMA in Rocky Mount, N. C., was alarmed by *Broadcasting's* report and sought assurance from Wayne Coy, chairman of the FCC. Coy answered:

The FCC is not considering the deletion of the FM band or any part of it. . . . The approximately 700 stations now operating in the FM band are real testimony to the strength of the service, particularly when one considers the fact that many manufacturers do not make FM sets and none of them has carried on continuously aggressive sales campaigns. In almost every area of the country, there is an unfilled demand for FM receivers.

I use my FM tuner in New York chiefly for music, but there are many areas in the country where FM is more than an added luxury. In Josh Horne's country it's a necessity, and I'm glad that Coy—with his new seven-year term safely confirmed by the Senate—spoke up the way he did. In the scramble for fatter and more colorful television profits, FM has been overlooked—except among the listeners to those 700 stations whose operators Coy pats on the back. I have an idea that Rocky Mount would be still happier if the big manufacturers of electronic goods turned out a new line of low-priced FM sets, in addition to the new tricolor, electronic, "compatible" polychrome television tube which Radio Corporation of America has developed.

The last time I mentioned color TV here, I endorsed the CBS system, at present the only method of color transmission approved by the FCC for commercial broadcasting. Since then, I have seen RCA's rival method, broadcast by NBC as a "field test." The tube on which I watched RCA's handling of the rainbow was exactly like the one which the Du Mont people had tried ineptly to demonstrate a few weeks earlier. Having seen the "field test," and knowing the vast resources—in promotion as well as in research—of RCA, I believe now that CBS is going to get a real run for its money. RCA's color is accurate; what is more important, you can receive it on present black-and-white sets, and the resulting monochrome picture has as fine a texture and as delicate black-gray-white shadings as any I have ever seen outside a laboratory.

But to get back to radio—I heard a couple of programs recently. One is on CBS, Monday nights at eight. A Hollywood character by the name of Roger Price has a panel of "experts" advising people who come to the microphone with problems. They all want to know *How To*—which is the name of the show. Samples: How to make good in the Army? Answer: Marry the general's daughter, and the old man will take you into the business. If you don't believe that this sort of thing happens on the air—you can *see* for yourself. *How To* is also on CBS-TV Tuesday nights, at nine.

On NBC, Sundays at 7:30, there is an hour's drama program called *New Theatre*, which the other Sunday night broadcast "The Disenchanted" by Budd Schulberg. Staats Cotsworth did a splendid job in the role of F. Scott Fitzgerald, and Joan Alexander, as his wife, Zelda, was superb. It was excellent theatre, outstanding radio. How faithful it was to Budd Schulberg's novel, I have no way of knowing since I did not read the book. I am tired of the Fitzgerald cult, but I'm even more weary of those who insist on perpetuating the "legend" of Fitzgerald rather than his artistic accomplishments. The radio show placed all the emphasis on the drinking and the highjinks, and it was only in an intermission comment by Eva Le Gallienne—who acts as a sort of mistress of ceremony on the program—that a few words were spoken about literary ambitions and disillusionments. Nevertheless, the cast, direction and general production were tops. At this rate, radio can stick around awhile longer.

. . . Television made a hero of Rudolph Halley, former chief counsel for the Senate Crime Investigating (Kefauver) Committee. The Liberal Party has nominated him for President of the New York City Council, the Mayor opposes him, and a stiff political fight is on. But Halley can't lose. He has been signed to narrate CBS-TV's *Gangbusters*. Salary, $3,000 a week. SAUL CARSON

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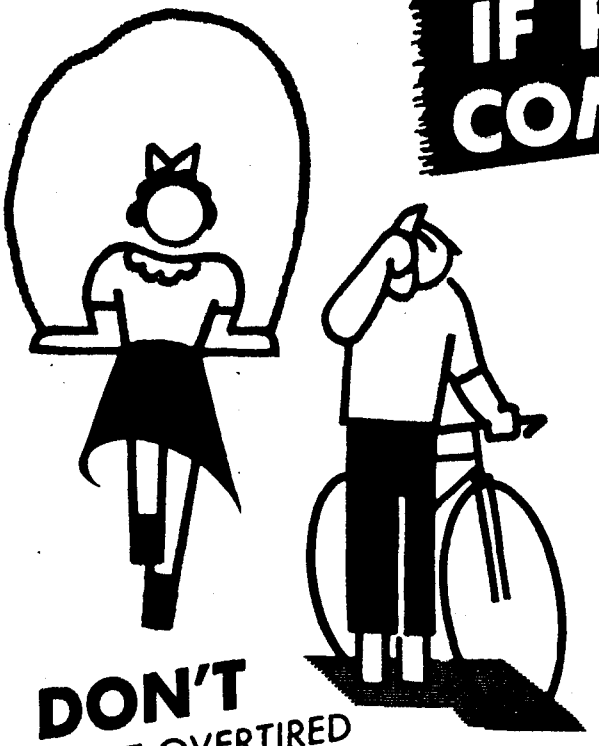

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